

EXHIBIT 15

Report on PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS



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REPORT ON PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS – EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report encompasses an analysis of a sample of 156 textbooks and 16 teacher guides published between 2017 and 2019 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education (MoE) for use in general education schools in the subjects: Arabic language, social studies and social upbringing, history and geography, religious education, mathematics, natural sciences and life sciences.

The curriculum reform initiated by the Palestinian Authority in the 2016/2017 academic year remains an ongoing process with textbook revisions being carried out frequently. After the initial completion of this Report therefore 18 textbooks released in 2020 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education have been additionally reviewed.

Palestinian textbooks are produced and located within an environment saturated with ongoing occupation, conflict, and violence, which they in turn reflect. The analysis revealed a complex picture: 1) the textbooks adhere to UNESCO standards and adopt criteria that are prominent in international education discourse, including a strong focus on human rights, 2) they express a narrative of resistance within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and 3) they display an antagonism towards Israel.

Compliance with the principles of global citizenship education

The textbooks extensively address central issues of global citizenship education. In numerous instances the textbooks call for tolerance, mercy, forgiveness and justice. They convey the concept of civil rights and the relationship between citizens and the state. Textbooks for social studies, in particular, also confirm pluralism as a feature of the Palestinian political system and promote political participation in the context of citizenship education. The 2019 editions contain several additional chapters that discuss the meaning of active citizenship and the relationship between the citizen and public spaces, as well as that between the citizen and government. Issues of citizenship are thus allocated more space and further content is dedicated to

them. In all subject areas, the textbooks provide images of society that encompass respectful representations of different social, cultural and religious groups including diversity of skin colour, gender and physical abilities. The textbooks emphasise the primary objective of equal access to facilities and services and equal opportunities for participation in public life, as well as cultural, social and religious values that support various forms of coexistence and dialogue. Religious coexistence between Christians and Muslims is the dominant form presented in the textbooks; other religions are rarely addressed. (For 2020 textbook versions see below.)

Awareness of human rights

The analysis of human rights representations in Palestinian textbooks published between 2017 and 2019 shows an increased focus on the topic and a process of reframing national issues within a global political context. The textbooks affirm the importance of human rights in general and in several places explicitly highlight a universal notion of these rights: emphasising their interdependence and inalienability and referring repeatedly to international documents on human rights. This universal notion is, however, not carried through to a discussion of the rights of Israelis. Group-specific rights, in particular the rights of women, children and persons with disabilities are also discussed extensively. The diversity-embracing approach indicates an increased awareness of and response to international agreements and commitments regarding human rights.

Addressing conflict in human rights discourse

References to human rights serve as a framework through which the textbooks address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from the perspective of human rights violations in the context of international law. When the textbooks mention human rights violations, in most cases these are carried out by Israeli protagonists and affect the rights of Palestinians. The textbooks support these assertions by reference to international conventions.

Antagonistic narratives and one-sided representations of the Israeli 'other'

While the analysis identifies an increased focus on Global Citizenship Education and human rights discourse, it also finds antagonistic narratives and one-sided representations of the Israeli 'other' in textbook portrayals of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This primarily applies to the terminology used to refer to the adversary. The term 'Israel' occurs relatively seldom, while the term '(Zionist) occupation' dominates in the books. The cartographic representations of All-Palestine, as a political entity, a geographical region or an imagined homeland, generally do not include the State of Israel or cities founded by Jewish immigrants. A few maps show the borders of the West Bank and the settlements within it, thus visualising the disconnected territorial space administered by the Palestinian Authority.

Recognition of Israel and renunciation of terror in source material

The peace process in the Middle East is discussed in a history textbook for year 10, which quotes the speech given by the Egyptian president Anwar El-Sadat in front of the Israeli parliament in 1977 and the letters of mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO from September 1993. These sources document different steps taken towards the recognition of Israel and the renunciation of violence and terrorism by the PLO. The recognition of Israel's right to exist in peace and security documented in the letters by Yasser Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin stands in contrast to the questioning of the legitimacy of the State of Israel expressed in other passages and textbooks.

Ambivalent representation of Jews in religious education textbooks

When representing Jews collectively as an ethnic and religious group, Palestinian Christian education textbooks acknowledge them as representatives of a further monotheistic faith and largely refrain from reproducing prejudices from the New Testament. Three Islamic education textbooks address Jews and Judaism mainly in the context of early Islam. While two of them deal ambivalently with the motifs of loyalty and treason in reference to some Jewish tribes, one textbook provides a learning context that displays anti-Semitic motifs and links

characteristics and actions attributed to Jews at the dawn of Islam to the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. [For 2020 textbook versions see below.]

The use of the terms *jihād* and *shahīd*

Christian and Islamic religious education textbooks introduce the concept of *jihād* as a spiritual struggle and process of self-reform, but also as engagement in combat. Islamic religious education textbooks explain the rules and conditions of *jihād* and the laws forbidding bloodshed and the killing of innocent people. Especially when taken up in subjects other than religious education, the combat-infused meaning of *jihād* tends to prevail. The term is rarely connected to the current conflict; however, in the few cases where such links are drawn the passages tend to harbour escalatory potential. The term *shahīd* is a key term that is almost exclusively used in the context of the conflict and refers both to individuals killed while committing violent attacks against Israel and to Palestinian victims of violence who were themselves not actively involved.

Representations of violence differ according to subjects

Across the school subjects, the analysis reveals significant differences in the nature and quantity of portrayals of violence. Textbooks for Arabic language contain emotionally laden depictions of Israeli violence that tend to dehumanise the Israeli adversary, occasionally accusing the latter of malice and deceitful behaviour. They depict past acts of violence committed by Palestinians against Jewish paramilitary groups during the British Mandate and subsequently against Israel as part of a heroic struggle against a colonizing oppressor.

Textbooks for history, geography and social studies take a more conceptual approach, consistently placing the facts within the narrative of national resistance. The Israeli opponent is portrayed as aggressive and hostile. The language is however, for the most part, objective in tone and avoids inflammatory expressions. Violence perpetrated by Palestinians, including violence against civilians, is presented as a legitimate means of resistance in certain periods of Palestinian history, alongside peaceful and diplomatic ways of confronting Israel. Especially in higher school years, students are asked to reflect on the use of different means of resistance and to evaluate them.

References to violence in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can also be found in Real Life Connections (RLC) in mathematics and natural science textbooks. Of all the RLC in the textbooks, only a small minority (5 %) are directly related to the conflict. The conflict-related Real Life Connections carry non-escalatory and escalatory potential. (For 2020 textbook versions see below.)

Textbooks for the academic year 2020/2021 reduce escalatory potential

An overview conducted after the initial completion of this Report compared 18 textbooks released online in 2020 by the Palestinian Ministry of Education with earlier versions, and found significant differences. In addition to the increased representation of female and Christian positions there is a reduction in the text and images that have escalatory potential: including the alteration of a specific teaching unit that included anti-Semitic content by several significant changes of the narrative. Some references to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in mathematics and natural science textbooks have been erased completely. References to protagonists of armed Palestinian resistance have in some places been altered or removed.

Palestinian textbooks amended by Israeli authorities

As Israel has annexed East Jerusalem and controls the education sector in this part of the city, Israeli authorities approve and amend textbooks for use in East-Jerusalem schools. A review of 7 amended textbooks has shown, that in spite of significant changes being made to their content, these textbooks do not contain any reference to the amendments made by Israeli authorities nor to the authors of the changed texts. Changes occur on two levels and predominantly concern material that refers to conflict and occupation: the first is the removal of depictions of violence by Palestinians or Israelis, the charting of Israel in maps and the removal of symbolic maps of All-Palestine; on the second level there is an idealisation of the coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians in the amended passages, with no mention of existing tensions. References to Palestinian identity or national symbols are removed, as are passages detailing cultural commemorations and remembrance. The removal of entire chapters on regional and Palestinian history fundamentally changes the national narrative.

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1 INTRODUCTION

School textbooks play a crucial role as transmitters and indicators of the hegemonic knowledge that a society deems appropriate for teaching to the next generation, particularly when it comes to topics relating to peace and conflict.¹ Textbooks also constitute the dominant media in many school classrooms.² They enjoy wide circulation, young people have unimpeded access to them during their political socialisation,³ and ‘for millions of people they [are] the first, and often the only, books that they [...] read’.⁴ Research on school textbooks has therefore shown considerable interest in the role these media can play in fostering hatred and even violence or, on the other hand, promoting peace and tolerance. While hatred and violence are certainly not the same, the two phenomena cannot always be categorically disentangled given that inspiring acrimony paves the way for the use of (but by no means deterministically leads to) violence.⁵

School textbooks are particularly relevant in conflict and post-conflict contexts where discourses (as reproduced in educational settings) have considerable potential to contribute to violent escalation or conflict transformation.⁶ Conversely, the content of school textbooks can also be influenced by conflict. Conflict-relevant facts and knowledge presented in textbooks can increase and intensify during periods of hostility and war. Finally, school textbooks themselves – and/or their contents – can become the subjects of controversy within a society or between actors from different states,⁷ as is particularly the case in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.⁸ The ubiquity of the conflict and of

the Israeli occupation⁹ in the everyday lives of Palestinians in the occupied territories must therefore be addressed in the textbook analysis.

In 2017, the Palestinian Ministry of Education (hereafter MoE)¹⁰ under the Palestinian Authority began to pilot a new school curriculum covering textbooks for school years 1–12.¹¹ As stated above, textbooks play a role in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict both as crucial instruments for the political socialisation of the next generation and as controversial objects themselves. Recently, serious allegations have been raised that the new Palestinian textbooks incite hatred rather than promoting tolerance. These allegations are still contested and research is needed to produce robust evidence on the matter.

To address this knowledge gap, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research developed a conceptual and methodological framework for an academic review of recent Palestinian textbooks and teacher guides. This Report examines how textbooks address central issues of Global Citizenship Education, whether and how peace and tolerance are incorporated into Palestinian textbooks, to what extent they contain incitement to violence and hatred, and, if so, in what ways. It also seeks to provide a factual basis for a constructive discussion between the relevant stakeholders concerning the content of current textbooks and teacher guides, as well as their further improvement. This seems especially pertinent since the curriculum reform initiated by the Palestinian Authority in the 2016/2017 academic year was

¹ Naseem, Muhammad Ayaz and Georg Stöber: ‘Introduction: Textbooks, Identity Politics, and Lines of Conflict in South Asia’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6 (2), 2014: p. 1–9; Standish, Katerina: ‘Looking for Peace in National Curriculum: The PECA Project in New Zealand’, *Journal of Peace Education* 13 (1), 2016: p. 18–40.

² Fuchs, Eckhardt: ‘Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research’, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14 (2), 2011: p. 17–34.

³ Ingrao, Charles: ‘Weapons of Mass Instruction: Schoolbooks and Democratization in Multiethnic Central Europe’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1), 2009: p. 180–189.

⁴ Lässig, Simone: ‘Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (1), 2009: p. 1–20; here: p. 2.

⁵ Jabri, Vivienne: *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.

⁶ Davies, Lynn: ‘The Different Faces of Education in Conflict’, *Development Outreach* 53 (4), 2010: p. 491–497; Paulson, Julia: ‘“Whether and How?” History Education About Recent Conflict: A Review of Research’, *Journal of Education in Emergencies* 1 (1), 2015: p. 7–37.

⁷ Bentrivato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina and Martina Schulze (eds): *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 141. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016.

⁸ Alayan, Samira: ‘Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority’, in: Podeh, Elie and Samira Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*. Palgrave Studies in Educational Media, London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 77–97; here p. 79.

⁹ For more details see Chapter 3 on conflict in textbooks.

¹⁰ Until March 2019 the Ministry was called Ministry of Education and Higher Education. For the sake of consistency this Report refers to it by its current name throughout.

¹¹ Throughout this Report school years are given as year 1, year 2, etc., meaning the first, second, etc. year of schooling in the region of the textbook’s origin.

not concluded with the publication of revised textbooks in 2017 but remains an ongoing process with textbook revisions being carried out every school year.

This Report begins with a review of the relevant academic literature on the study of contentious textbook content, followed by contextual considerations and the data basis. The methodology is based on an overarching approach that includes criteria with which to study how the content of Palestinian textbooks may lean towards promoting tolerance and understanding or, on the contrary, fuelling hatred and prejudice. This includes a multi-method research design using quantitative and qualitative approaches and a work plan (Chapter 1).

Chapters 2 to 4 present the findings from the qualitative analysis of the textbooks for the main subjects taught in years 1–12 of general public schools and published between 2017 and 2019. These findings are presented in the three chapters on global citizenship education, conflict and real-life connections. Further, following completion of the Report, the European Union provided the Georg Eckert Institute with 18 textbooks of the MoE published in the year 2020. Chapter 5 examines these books with regard to relevant changes. Chapter 6 addresses Palestinian textbooks that have been edited by the Israeli authorities for use in schools in East Jerusalem. The Report's conclusion summarises the findings.

1.1 REVIEW OF RELEVANT ACADEMIC LITERATURE

1.1.1 EDUCATION AND CONFLICT¹²

Inter-state conflicts have frequently been at the focus of the search for conflict prevention measures within the field of education. International textbook revision activities have often responded to the need for such measures.¹³ For some decades now, education research has studied the complex relations between societal transformation and conflict from a wider perspective, expanding its focus to include internal tensions.¹⁴

As conflict and education are interlinked in many ways and on different levels,¹⁵ the ways in which education might contribute to 'post-conflict' reconciliation and reconstruction in the affected society often remain a key question, one that also involves foreign intervention.¹⁶ Here especially, history education is regarded as having enormous capacity to exacerbate or reconcile conflicts, a significant topic in the

¹² The sections 1.1 and 1.3.1 are modified versions of: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research: 'Inception Report for a Study on Palestinian Textbooks'. Inception Report, http://www.uklfi.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Inception_report.pdf, 2019, accessed 30 September 2020.

¹³ Fuchs, Eckhardt: 'The Creation of New International Networks in Education – The League of Nations and Educational Organisations in the 1920s', *Paedagogica Historica* 43, 2007: p. 199–209; Korostelina, Karina V. and Simone Lässig (eds): *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation: Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*. London, New York: Routledge, 2013.

¹⁴ Cole, Elisabeth A. and Judy Barsalou: 'Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict', in: *USIP Special Report* 163, June 2006, <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/resources/sr163.pdf>, accessed 25 September 2020; Tawil, Sobhi and Alexandra Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*. Geneva: UNESCO, 2004; Seitz, Klaus: *Education and Conflict. The Role of Education in the Creation, Prevention and Resolution of Societal Crises – Consequences for Development Cooperation*. Eschborn: GTZ, 2004; Leach, Fiona and Máiréad Dunne (eds): *Education, Conflict and Reconciliation: International Perspectives*. Oxford, etc.: Lang, 2007; UNESCO: *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*. Paris: UNESCO, 2011.

¹⁵ Brown, Graham K.: 'The Influence of Education on Violent Conflict and Peace: Inequality, Opportunity and the Management of Diversity', *Prospects* 41 (2) 2011: p. 191–204.

¹⁶ Dimou, Augusta (ed.): *'Transition' and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe 124. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009; Howlett, Charles F. and Ian M. Harris: *Books, Not Bombs: Teaching Peace since the Dawn of the Republic*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2010.

research area of 'Education and Conflict'.¹⁷ However, the focus rarely lies on apparently 'peaceful' societies or those grappling with serious but less violent conflicts and the best ways to prevent outbreaks of mass violence in such situations.¹⁸ Rather, in post-conflict situations in particular it remains a controversial issue whether – and especially how – to teach about conflicts or whether these topics are best avoided. Different schools of thought advocate varying approaches to handling conflicts and highly controversial issues in schools.

Avoidance of such issues is referred to as 'negative peacemaking'.¹⁹ The exclusion or omission of sensitive topics and issues from the curricula, or giving them the 'silent treatment'²⁰ in classrooms, is considered a type of avoidance which might lead students to hide their true feelings or censor their own viewpoints. Further, avoidance of conflict distances the curriculum from real life, running the risk of making it appear meaningless.²¹ These arguments also hold true when dealing with conflicts in general, including in 'more peaceful' settings. In the discourse on education and conflict the latter mostly refers to violent activities on a large scale, such as wars and civil wars, and is thus understood as a ubiquitous

social phenomenon. It is therefore not conceived of as the opposite of 'peace'; rather, peace is a state of society in which conflicts are resolved by non-violent means. 'Peace Education' is dedicated to developing and implementing methods which serve these ends on an international and intra-societal level in terms of the relationship and behaviour of groups of social actors, both in the classroom and beyond.²²

Peace education scholars investigate how societal narratives shape the understanding of a particular conflict, of representations of the 'other', and of how attitudes towards the 'opponent' are justified.²³ They examine how narratives disseminated through schools, media and social networks shape the collective memories and values of citizens today.²⁴ While peace education now also covers contexts of non-violent inter-group tensions or relative tranquillity, it still focuses on education for peace in belligerent settings, either in a 'hot' phase, where the conflict cannot be addressed directly, or after 'cooling down', when it can be made the topic of discussion.²⁵ In a non-violent context, the research focus is more weighted towards conflict and conflict resolution within the school system itself, as well as teaching about human

¹⁷ McCully, Alan: 'The Contribution of History Teaching to Peace Building', in: Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press, 2010: p. 213–222.

¹⁸ Cole, Elisabeth A. (ed.): *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Tawil and Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*.

¹⁹ Curle, Adam and Maire A. Dugan: 'Peace Making: Stages and Sequence', *Peace and Change* 8 (2/3), 1982: p. 19–28; Bettman, Ellen H. and Pamela Moore: 'Conflict Resolution Programs and Social Justice', *Educational and Urban Society* 27 (1), 1994: p. 11–21; Fennimore, Beatrice S.: 'When Mediation and Equity are at Odds: Potential Lessons in Democracy', *Theory into Practice* 36 (1), 1997: p. 59–64; Lynch, Kathleen: 'Research and Theory on Equality and Education', in: Hallinan, Maureen T. (ed.): *Handbook of the Sociology of Education*. New York: Kluwer Academics/Plenum Publishers, 2000: p. 85–105; Bickmore, Kathy: 'Teaching Conflict and Conflict Resolution in School: (Extra-)Curricular Considerations', in: Raviv, Amiram, Louis Oppenheimer and Daniel Bar-Tal (eds): *How Children Understand War and Peace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999: p. 233–259.

²⁰ Bhattacharya, Neeladri: 'Preface', in: Kumar, Krishna: *Learning from Conflict*. Tracts for the Times 10. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1996: p. ix–x.

²¹ Britzman, Deborah: 'Decentering Discourses in Teacher Education: Or the Unleashing of Unpopular Things', in: Weller, Kathleen and Candance Mitchell (eds): *What Schools Can Do: Critical Pedagogy and Practice*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1992: p. 151–75; Graff, Gerald: *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalise American Education*. New York: WW Norton, 1992; hooks, bell: *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

²² Brown, Lorraine: 'International Education: A Force for Peace and Cross-cultural Understanding?' *Journal of Peace Education* 6 (2), 2009: p. 209–224.

²³ Hilker, Lyndsay McLean: 'The Role of Education in Driving Conflict and Building Peace: The Case of Rwanda', *Prospects* 41 (2), 2011: p. 267–282; Wenden, Anita L.: 'Educating for a Critically Literate Civil Society: Incorporating the Linguistic Perspective into Peace Education', *Journal of Peace Education* 4 (2), 2007: p. 163–180; Salomon, Gavriel and Edward Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*. New York: Psychology Press, 2010.

²⁴ Bar-Tal, Daniel, Yigal Rosen and Rafi Nets-Zengut: 'Peace Education in Societies Involved in Intractable Conflicts: Goals, Conditions, and Directions', in: Salomon and Cairns (eds): *Handbook on Peace Education*; Hakvoort, Ilse: 'Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity', in: Salomon and Cairns (eds), *Handbook on Peace Education*, p. 287–301.

²⁵ [Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives? Portrayal of the "Other" in Israeli and Palestinian School Books', Study Report, 4 February 2013, <https://israelipalestinianschoolbooks.blogspot.com/>, accessed 15 December 2020.

rights, including children's rights, and related aspects.²⁶ The treatment of conflicts within such societies seems to receive less attention than in societies experiencing strong tensions.

Academic literature has approached school textbooks, education and educational intervention as the contexts, framework and dimensions of conflicts. Particularly influential in the context of research on conflict and peace is a model published by Johan Galtung in the mid-1990s that offers an entry point for those interested in intervention for the purpose of conflict resolution. Galtung draws a 'conflict' triangle that connects three dimensions: attitudes, behaviour and contradiction. Attitudes are the inner convictions of the protagonists, behaviour their observable actions, and 'contradiction' the subject matter of the conflict. The change potential inherent in the model lies in the possibility that, by changing attitudes, behaviour might change – including the use of violence – and vice versa. Points of contradiction can also be modified. The activities of many organisations interested in conflict resolution seek to transform a conflict by inducing change into one or other of the dimensions with the aim of simultaneously influencing the others.

The model refers to the parties directly involved in the conflict and is relevant for those working on or studying it. However, the conflict not only involves the belligerent parties with their military and/or political wings, but often affects society as a whole. Conflict transformation must result in a wider process of peace-building. Åkerlund²⁷ therefore introduces an outer circle to the model with analogous dimensions: norms and knowledge correspond to attitudes while the capacity to handle conflicts corresponds to behaviour. Additionally, there may be 'structural risk factors' which are not yet the subject of contradictions but nevertheless pose a danger to the society. Both circles are open to peace process interventions.

Åkerlund categorises types of contributions made by Swedish civil society organisations in the field of conflict transformation and peace-building by associating them with the six dimensions.²⁸ Twenty per cent of the contributions focus on 'norms and knowledge', while only four of them, five per cent, engage with the educational field. Education in the context of conflict and peace-building therefore seems to be located in this area, albeit only one of several relevant aspects. Seen from this angle, education is important because it shapes the attitudes of those involved in the peace process, thereby potentially preventing further violence; just as in the past, some aspects of education may have contributed to the attitudes that led to the existing conflict, possibly promoting group antagonisms and hatred.

With the concept of (possible) change, a temporal perspective is inherent in the conflict triangle, even if not explicitly modelled.²⁹ A time axis is included in another model, published by Tawil and Harley,³⁰ which correlates stages of conflict with distinct types of educational initiatives. Conflict, the authors explain, arises from a stage of non-conflict and relative peace. In a 'pre-conflict' stage – i.e. pre-violence – internal trouble begins and social unrest develops. Once the conflict has become violent, the stage of conflict transformation and the transition out of violence follows, in turn evolving into a 'post-conflict' stage. Tawil and Harley correlate different forms of educational initiatives and interventions with this process, which, however, covers more than one conflict stage and 'encroaches' into neighbouring phases. 'Education for prevention (development)' consists of educational measures intended to avoid a conflict or at least the outbreak of violence. The approach taken by traditional textbook revision in the international field can be attributed to this aim, as can the introduction of peace education, for example, in societies not in a 'post-conflict' situation. 'Education in emergencies'

²⁶ Hakvoort: 'Peace Education in Regions of Tranquillity'.

²⁷ Åkerlund, Anna: *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace. Experience and Ideas of Swedish Civil Society Organisations*. Sida Studies 13, Stockholm: Sida, 2005: p. 53.

²⁸ Åkerlund: *Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace*, p. 122–127.

²⁹ Johan Galtung added aspects of conflict development to the triangle model. He outlined the needs, values and interests from which goals arise. Goals of different actors will sometimes be disharmonious, incompatible or contradictory, and define a conflict. If the pursuit of goals is blocked by others, this leads to frustration and sometimes polarisation, possibly developing into the dehumanisation of the 'other'. Aggression may follow in several steps of escalation, resulting in traumatising. Victims may begin to dream of vengeance; the victors may celebrate their glory. This will produce a feedback cycle if the conflict is not transformed. See Galtung, Johan: 'Introduction: Peace by Peaceful Conflict Transformation – The TRANSCEND approach', in: Webel, Charles and Johan Galtung (eds): *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. London, New York: Routledge, 2007: p. 14–32.

³⁰ Tawil and Harley (eds): *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*, p. 11.

programmes seek to safeguard schooling during and after armed conflict or (natural) disasters. And ‘education for social and civic reconstruction’ programmes include measures to facilitate the rebuilding of society, reconciliation and so forth.

Tawil and Harley are to be commended for the introduction of the time axis as well as the acknowledgement that not every approach is suited to all situations and that at different stages of conflict development different measures may be required. However, as with all models, this one too presents a simplified picture and has its limitations, such as the equation of conflict with violence. This not only runs counter to a broader definition, it also means that non-violent conflicts tend to be neglected and thus overlooked in terms of ‘best practice’ models, for example. The model also focuses on internal conflicts and simplifies conflict development, which is often not strictly linear. Further, it is debatable whether educational activities can and should always be adapted according to the stage of the conflict.

Education has been advocated for many years as a positive means towards societal development and modernisation. ‘Education for all’ was therefore the promise of a brighter future. In the context of the internal strife and violence present in civil-war societies, however, the negative impact of education became obvious for many observers and practitioners in this field. As Bush and Saltarelli have put it: ‘In many conflicts around the world, education is part of the problem, not the solution, because it serves to divide and antagonize groups both intentionally and unintentionally.’³¹

The process of restructuring and reconciliation takes time. As Cole and Barsalou observe, ‘educational systems often are among the slowest public institutions to make significant changes’ and ‘[s]econdary-school history textbooks rarely, if ever, play a pioneering role in tackling highly sensitive issues or changing historical narratives that are not widely accepted in society.’³²

1.1.2 SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS AND CONFLICT

Academic literature has approached school textbooks in conflict settings, with an interest in textbooks both as themselves the subjects of a conflict as well as media in which it is addressed, negotiated or reflected.³³ Until recently, content analysis has been the dominant methodology in textbook research, with new approaches increasingly gaining in recognition, such as ‘framing’ analysis, proposed by Elizabeth Kind for the study of textbooks in conflict settings. Drawing on a study of Rwandan textbooks before and after violent conflict she argues that frame analysis is a useful tool

for shedding light ‘on the way in which history education is a form of strategic communication and can reflect, amplify and motivate in contexts of intergroup conflict.’³⁴

The impact of school textbooks on students’ opinions and worldviews has been studied with a special focus on issues related to peace, conflict and violence. In a review of 42 quantitative studies published between 1996 and 2016 (with few studies available prior to 2005), Østby et al. found that higher rates of primary, secondary and tertiary education

³¹ Bush, Kenneth D. and Diana Saltarelli: *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict*, Florence: UNICEF, 2000: p. 33.

³² Cole and Barsalou: ‘Unite or Divide?’, p. 5 and 9.

³³ Summaries of these studies can be found in: Bentrovato, Denise, Karina V. Korostelina and Martina Schulze (eds): *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Postwar Societies*; Cajani, Luigi, Simone Lässig and Maria Repoussi (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019; Ide, Tobias, Jakob Kirchheimer and Denise Bentrovato: ‘School Textbooks, Peace and Conflict: An Introduction’. *Global Change, Peace and Security* 30 (3), 2018: p. 287–294 and Poteh and Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities. Views of Others in Textbooks of the Middle East*.

³⁴ King, Elisabeth: ‘What Framing Analysis Can Teach Us About History Textbooks, Peace, and Conflict: The Case of Rwanda’, in: Bellino, Michelle J. and James H. Williams: *(Re)Constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2017: p. 23–48; here: p. 24.

decreased the intensity and likelihood of armed conflict.³⁵ Secondary education for males is a particularly important predictor. While the causal mechanisms underlying this correlation are not yet understood, plausible links appear to be higher opportunity costs for participating in armed violence (vis-à-vis using the qualifications gained for economic benefits) and less discrimination regarding access to formal education. Higher exposure to peace pedagogy and reflection training as provided by school textbooks might also have an impact, but this link is merely speculative given that textbooks can also promote hatred and uncritical acceptance of authority.³⁶ There are five reasons why it is generally difficult to establish a link between school textbook content and students' opinions and worldviews: Firstly, access to school textbooks might be very limited, especially in peripheral and conflict-ridden areas.³⁷ Secondly, even if textbooks are available, teachers might re-contextualise their content, provide additional material, or simply decide not to use them at all. Such practices are well documented for countries as diverse as Argentina, India, Mexico, Peru, the UK and the USA.³⁸ Thirdly, students might face difficulties understanding textbook content, especially if it is not directly related to their everyday lives and if the pedagogical design of the textbooks is deficient.³⁹ The fourth reason is

that young people have the capacity to critically reflect upon, question and challenge the views presented to them by all media, including school textbooks. Fukuoka finds that Japanese students are well able to identify and criticise biases in texts, hence concluding that 'history textbooks play a much smaller role than often assumed'.⁴⁰ Ahlrichs et al. also ascertain that school textbook content is selectively received, negotiated and re-contextualised by students in German classrooms.⁴¹

Finally, school textbooks are only one source of information for young people. Their relative impact as compared with other factors has not been comprehensively accessed to date, but is often considered to be limited. Bird, for example, concludes that gossip, traditional storytelling and radio are far more important in conveying knowledge relevant to peace and conflict in Rwanda than formal educational media.⁴² A study in Israel finds that, even when confronted with a liberal interpretation of past Arab-Israeli conflict events, such narratives are quickly replaced by or subsumed under the dominant discourses in their social milieu.⁴³ On a more general level, Staeheli and Hammett claim that the social realities, actions and discourses of schools, communities, families and peers are more important in shaping students' worldviews

³⁵ Østby, Gudrun, Henrik Urdal and Kendra Dupuy: 'Does Education Lead to Pacification? A Systematic Review of Statistical Studies on Education and Political Violence', *Review of Educational Research* 89 (1), 2019: p. 46–92, doi:10.3102/0034654318800236.

³⁶ Davies: 'The Different Faces of Education in Conflict'; Rohde, Achim and Samira Alayan: 'Introduction', in: Alayan, Samira, Achim Rohde and Sarhan Dhouib (eds): *The Politics of Education Reform in the Middle East: Self and Other in Textbook and Curricula*. New York: Berghahn, 2012: p. 1–14.

³⁷ Bentrovato, Denise: *Learning to Live Together in Africa through History Education: An Analysis of School Curricula and Stakeholders' Perspectives*. Eckert. Expertise 8. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017.

³⁸ Benwell, Matthew C.: 'From the Banal to the Blatant: Expressions of Nationalism in Secondary Schools in Argentina and the Falkland Islands', in: *Geoforum* 52 (1), 2014: p. 51–60; Bhattacharya, Neeladri: 'Teaching History in Schools: The Politics of Textbooks in India', *History Workshop Journal* 67 (1), 2009: p. 99–110; Colston, Nicole M. and Jacqueline M. Vadjunec: 'A Critical Political Ecology of Consensus: On "Teaching Both Sides" of Climate Change Controversies', *Geopolitics* 65 (1), 2015: p. 255–265; Quartermaine, Angela: 'Discussing Terrorism: A Pupil-Inspired Guide to UK Counter-Terrorism Policy Implementation in Religious Education Classrooms in England', *British Journal of Religious Education* 38 (1), 2016: p. 13–29; vom Hau, Matthias: 'Unpacking the School: Textbooks, Teachers, and the Construction of Nationhood in Mexico, Argentina, and Peru', *Latin American Research Review* 44 (3), 2009: p. 127–154.

³⁹ Pepin, Birgit and Linda Haggarty: 'Mathematics Textbooks and their Use in English, French and German Classrooms: A Way to Understanding Teaching and Learning Cultures', *Mathematics Education* 33 (5), 2001: p. 158–175.

⁴⁰ Fukuoka, Kazuya: 'School History Textbooks and Historical Memory in Japan: A Study of Reception', *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 23 (3–4), 2011: p. 83–103; here: p. 98.

⁴¹ Ahlrichs, Johanna, Katharina Baier, Barbara Christophe, Felicitas Macgilchrist, Patrick Mielke and Roman Richter: 'Memory Practices in the Classroom: On Reproducing, Destabilizing and Interrupting Majority Memories', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 7 (2), 2015: p. 89–109.

⁴² Bird, Lindsay: 'Learning About War and Peace in the Great Lakes Region of Africa', *Research in Comparative and International Education* 2 (3), 2007: p. 176–189.

⁴³ Porat, Dan A.: 'It's Not Written Here, but This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict', *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (4), 2004: p. 963–996.

than educational media.⁴⁴ Nor should the influence of other traditional and social media be ignored in this regard.⁴⁵

This is not to say that school textbooks have no influence on the knowledge gained by young people. They are available to and often compulsory reading for a huge number during an important phase of their lives and thus 'remain the dominant media for knowledge conveyance' in schools.⁴⁶ According to Obura, hatred promoted by the formal education system was a key factor in the 1994 Rwandan genocide⁴⁷, and Emerson also shows how negative descriptions of the 'other' resonate deeply in Pakistani classrooms.⁴⁸ Voigtländer and Voth find that education had an important and long-term effect on

the promotion of anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany, although this link is not directly established but rather assumed after a process of eliminating other plausible explanations.⁴⁹ And Ide et al. detect a weak yet significant impact, in the short term, on the importance attached by young people to environmental problems as a result of textbooks linking climate change to conflict.⁵⁰

In summary, although school textbooks certainly play an important role in political socialisation, their impact on students' opinions and worldviews is insufficiently understood, limited by a number of factors, and should therefore not be overestimated.

1.1.3 STUDIES ON PALESTINIAN TEXTBOOKS

As discussed above, political conflicts are often also played out in controversies around the textbooks themselves,⁵¹ as has been reflected in studies and reports written for political stakeholders. Such politically inclined reports have evaluated the contents of teaching materials approved by the Palestinian Authority (PA), and Palestinian textbooks have also been the subject of a number of scholarly analyses.

As Nathan J. Brown has stated, 'The Palestinian curriculum has been the subject of a tremendous international controversy, which centres on a political reading of (or failure to read) isolated passages in the textbooks used in Palestinian schools.'⁵² One of the most active and publicly visible institutions with regard to politically inclined reports on textbooks in

the Middle East is the Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT-se), an NGO based in Israel that was founded in 1998 as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP). It focuses on studies that examine the depiction of Jews, Judaism and of the State of Israel in textbooks of the Palestinian Authority areas and of Arab countries or those with a Muslim majority population. IMPACT-se describes itself as a 'research, policy and advocacy organisation'.⁵³ IMPACT-se has published numerous studies investigating the depiction of Israel and Jews in Palestinian textbooks. These reports compile several alarming examples demonstrating a hostile attitude towards Israel and which indicate that Palestinian textbooks cannot be considered politically harmless nor acknowledged to contain

⁴⁴ Staeheli, Lynn A. and Daniel Hammett: "'For the Future of the Nation': Citizenship, Nation, and Education in South Africa', *Political Geography* 32 (1), 2013: p. 32–41.

⁴⁵ Kahne, Joseph and Benjamin Bowyer: 'The Political Significance of Social Media Activity and Social Networks', *Political Communication* 35 (3), 2018: p. 470–493.

⁴⁶ Fuchs: 'Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research', p. 22.

⁴⁷ Obura, Anna: *Never Again: Educational Reconstruction in Rwanda*. Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning, 2003.

⁴⁸ Emerson, Ann: 'The Making of the (Il)Legitimate Citizen: The Case of the Pakistan Studies Textbook', *Global Change, Peace & Security* 30 (3), 2018: p. 295–311.

⁴⁹ Voigtländer, Nico and Hans-Joachim Voth: 'Nazi Indoctrination and Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Germany', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112 (26), 2015: p. 7931–7936.

⁵⁰ Ide, Tobias, Adrien Detges and Timo Leimeister: 'Securitization through the Schoolbook? On Facilitating Conditions for and Audience Dispositions Towards the Securitization of Climate Change', *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (3), 2019: p. 532–559.

⁵¹ Cajani, Lässig and Repoussi (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education In the Post-Cold War Era*.

⁵² Brown, Nathan J.: 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum', in: Poteh and Alayan (eds): *Multiple Alterities*, p. 55–75; here: p. 55.

⁵³ <https://www.impact-se.org/about-us/>, accessed 17 September 2020.

comprehensive peace-building educational objectives. The reports' characterisation of Palestinian textbooks is, however, marked by generalising and exaggerated conclusions based on methodological shortcomings. These require further investigation based on an overarching and comprehensive examination of the textbooks, contextualising the specific passages mentioned as well as elements with the potential to promote tolerance and peaceful coexistence.

IMPACT-se directs its studies predominantly at an English-speaking audience outside of Israel, aiming to influence political decision-makers. The Israeli public are, however, undeniably aware of the studies, which are discussed in the press. Israeli politicians also attach great importance to the content of textbooks used in the Palestinian Authority areas which might influence the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians. An overview report produced for the Knesset Committee for Education, Culture and Sport in 2010 by the Knesset Research and Information Centre listed the findings from existing studies on the subject that had been conducted by research institutes, think tanks and by state and international organisations. It concluded that, while no unequivocal point of view could be garnered from the different reports, it was beyond dispute that Palestinian textbooks were imbued with negative depictions with regard to Israel, the Jewish people and the peace process.⁵⁴

Another study on Palestinian textbooks was published at the end of 2017 by the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA) at Bar Ilan University.⁵⁵ This work follows an approach and methodology similar to that employed by the IMPACT-se studies. Based on a sample of 201 textbooks in all subjects for years 1–12 that were used in schools at the time

of the study, the BESA study reached an almost identical conclusion: the content of textbooks approved by the Palestinian Authority attempted to delegitimise Israel by denying that the Jewish people had a national claim to a state in Palestine and by describing the presence of the Jews as an occupation. The demonisation of the Jews was viewed as being expressed through their portrayal as enemies of the Prophet and also as currently and historically embodying an existential threat to Palestinians. This tendency was further exacerbated, so the study claimed, by the fact that the Jewish people were always referred to collectively and never as individuals, and the textbooks were also said to lack objective information about the Jews and Israel which might otherwise counteract this trend. Furthermore, the study stated that the textbooks mentally and ideologically prepare students for the violent struggle to eliminate Israel and that the books lacked support for a peaceful solution with Israel.⁵⁶

In addition to these unilateral studies, several bilateral textbook projects have been carried out since the end of the 1990s by Israeli-Palestinian research groups and NGOs examining portrayals of self and 'other' in textbooks. Of these, the Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) has contributed widely to textbook analysis in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The IPCRI's report of 2004 is especially noteworthy in this context, stating that, while the textbooks of the then new curriculum were replete with references to the principles of reconciliation and tolerance, they failed to extend these principles and concepts to include the State of Israel and the Jews. Nor did, however, the same textbooks openly promote violence and hatred towards Israel and the Jews.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ The report (in Hebrew) by the Knesset Research and Information Centre of 30 June 2010 is available online as a PDF file from the following address: https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_535b6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7890.pdf, accessed 31 October 2020. A supplementary report from 5 May 2013 referenced the 2010 study and reached a similar conclusion: https://fs.knesset.gov.il/globaldocs/MMM/335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977/2_335c6b58-e9f7-e411-80c8-00155d010977_11_7424.pdf, accessed 31 October 2020. A similar overview of research positions regarding the content of Palestinian textbooks was carried out by the U.S. Congressional Research Service in 2005 and updated in 2006: Pina, Aaron D.: 'Palestinian Education and the Debate over Textbooks'. CRS Report for Congress. Washington D.C.: Congressional Research Service, <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metacrs9379/>, accessed 19 April 2019.

⁵⁵ Groiss, Arnon and Ronni Shaked: 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתיישבות היהודים, לישראל ולשלום' [Schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority: The Attitude to the Jews, to Israel and to Peace], Ramat Gan, 2017, https://besacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MSPS_141_HE.pdf, accessed 14 February 2019.

⁵⁶ Groiss and Shaked: 'ספרי הלימוד של הרשות הפלסטינית, ההתיישבות היהודים, לישראל ולשלום', p. 4–6.

⁵⁷ Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information: 'Report II: Analysis and Evaluation of the New Palestinian Curriculum. Reviewing Palestinian Textbooks and Tolerance Education Program, Grades 4 and 9', Jerusalem 2004, https://issuu.com/ipcri/docs/analysis_and_evaluation_of_the_new_435079b984ac19, accessed 10 April 2019.

Numerous academic studies of Palestinian textbooks have been carried out over the past two decades. Firer and Adwan, for example, examined Egyptian and Jordanian textbooks used at the time (2004) in the Palestinian Authority areas as well as new textbooks released by the Palestinian Authority in 2000 and 2001 for use in years 1-6. These textbooks addressed (Palestinian) locations, images, behaviour, culture, norms and values in much more detail than their predecessors. They placed a clear emphasis on Palestinian identity, of which a laboured sense of victimisation under Israeli occupation was a key element. The authors did not, however, note openly negative stereotypes of Jews and Israelis; in fact, non-violent resistance was the focus of the fight against the occupation and there was a recognisable attempt at education for peace, albeit, as they pointed out, with room for improvement.⁵⁸

Parallel to Adwan and Firer's study, an edited volume compiled by Falk Pingel investigated lesson and curricular development in Israel and the Palestinian Authority areas.⁵⁹ The chapter by Götz Nordbruch examined the concept of the Palestinian nation in the textbooks in use at the time in the Palestinian Authority areas. It established that 'Palestine' was projected back to the third century and the Palestinians were portrayed to be the descendants of the 'Arabian Canaanites', while the Israelites and the Jewish population were omitted from the national history. The curriculum outlined the importance of Palestine for the Islamic, Christian and Jewish religions, although the Muslim rulers were depicted as tolerant while the Jewish people were portrayed as ungrateful

and disloyal. The history of the country between 1882 and 1948 is restricted to selected periods of 'Zionist' activity and various uprisings of the Arab population against European and Jewish immigration. 'The West' is presented as an unreserved supporter of Zionism.⁶⁰

Both the study by Adwan and Firer and Pingel's edited volume resulted from an extensive research project exploring peace education approaches in history, civics and geography lessons in Israel and Palestine, conducted between 2002 and 2010 by the Georg Eckert Institute in cooperation with regional partners. Several Israeli and Palestinian textbooks were reviewed in the context of the project and numerous scholarly articles and reports were published.⁶¹

Another significant bilateral study of Israeli and Palestinian textbooks was published in 2013 as a result of a collaborative project between Sami Adwan, Daniel Bar-Tal (Tel Aviv University) and Bruce Wexler (Yale).⁶² The study, instigated by the inter-religious Council of Religious Institutions of the Holy Land and financed by the US State Department, was based on a broad sample and a sound research design employing recognised methods of textbook analysis.

It 'aimed to document the ways Palestinians and Israelis and the conflict between them are portrayed in each other's school textbooks'⁶³ and looked at the role of the latter 'in preserving the negative and inappropriate representation of the other and the conflict'.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Firer, Ruth and Sami Adwan: *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations*, Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 1. Hanover: Hahn, 2004.

⁵⁹ Pingel, Falk (ed.): *Contested Past, Disputed Present: Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools*, Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung 110, 2. Hanover: Hahn, 2003.

⁶⁰ Nordbruch, Götz: 'Forming Palestinian Society. The Narration of the Nation in the New Palestinian Textbooks', in: Pingel (ed.): *Contested Past*, p. 83-98.

⁶¹ See: <http://www.gei.de/en/projects/completed-projects/approaches-to-peace-pedagogy-in-history-geography-and-civics-instruction-in-israel-and-palestine.html>, accessed 14 February 2019.

⁶² [Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce E. Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?' A further publication of the study's results can be found in: Adwan, Sami, Daniel Bar-Tal and Bruce E. Wexler: 'Portrayal of the Other in Palestinian and Israel Schoolbooks: A Comparative Study', *Political Psychology* 37 (2), 2016: p. 201-217.

⁶³ [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 6.

⁶⁴ [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 3.

After a lengthy selection process the textbooks underwent a two-phase process of analysis. The first phase was to identify the units of analysis⁶⁵ relevant to the themes of the study. The six adopted themes were: the characterisation of the 'other' group, the 'self' group, religion, peace, conflict, and values. In the second phase these units underwent a standardised content analysis based on 'highly specific sets of evaluation questions related to each study theme and an accompanying implementation manual [that] were used to structure and standardize evaluations of the'⁶⁶ books. The study was carried out by a joint Israeli/Palestinian research team who developed and applied a standard manual and feedback system that maximised objectivity.

The study's four principal findings were: 1. The dehumanisation and demonisation of the 'other' occurred infrequently in the textbooks. 2. There was a unilateral national narrative evident on both sides which portrayed the 'other' as the enemy while positively portraying the actions of one's own society in conflict situations and attempts at peace. In Palestinian textbooks the 'other' was generally the Jewish people, who had taken possession of the land, either with the help of international powers or via the Israeli state. The message conveyed was that they wanted not to destroy the Palestinian people but to dominate them. Historical events were selectively chosen (by both sides) and incorporated into their own narratives. 3. Neither side's textbooks included information about the religion, culture, economy or everyday

lives of the 'other'. Maps even partially negated the existence of the latter, thus questioning the legitimacy of their presence. 4. While these observations applied to textbooks in all types of schools examined by the study, a quantitative comparison revealed that they featured predominantly in textbooks that were either Palestinian or ultra-orthodox Jewish.⁶⁷

More recent publications have discussed the results of this study and its perception within the conflict context, thus shedding light on the relevance of both textbooks and textbook research as locations of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.⁶⁸ Mazawi situates the debates about Palestinian textbooks within large-scale geopolitical dynamics and intra-Palestinian social and political struggles. He thus gives insight into internal debates quoting Ali Al-Jarbawi, who was involved in the evaluation of social studies and citizenship curricula, asking which Palestine should be taught and how Israel should be presented.⁶⁹ Internal debates on the content of Palestinian textbooks are also the focus of an article by Nathan Brown.⁷⁰ Elie Podeh contrasts the depiction of the Palestinian claim to the right of return with the representation of the Israeli Law of Return in a binational textbook analysis.⁷¹ And Samira Alayan has devoted much of her scholarly work to the study of Palestinian textbooks, for example on their representations of the Holocaust⁷² and their depictions of Zionism⁷³ as well as on their censorship by Israeli Authorities for use in schools in East Jerusalem.⁷⁴ All of the scholarly studies mentioned here focused on earlier generations of textbooks published before 2017.

⁶⁵ The unit of analysis in the study in question was defined as a literary piece that 'can be a poem, story, chapter, essay, part of a book, etc.'; [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 7.

⁶⁶ [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 8.

⁶⁷ [Adwan, Bar-Tal and Wexler]: 'Victims of Our Own Narratives?', p. 1–2.

⁶⁸ Rohde, Achim: 'Teaching History in Israel-Palestine', in: Bevernage, Berber and Nico Wouters (eds): *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018: p. 353–370; here: p. 364.

⁶⁹ Mazawi, André Elias: 'Which Palestine should we teach?' Signatures, Palimpsests, and Struggles over School Textbooks', in: *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 30 (2), 2011: p. 169–183; here: p. 174.

⁷⁰ Brown: 'Palestine: The Unseen Conflict over the Hidden Curriculum'.

⁷¹ Podeh, Elie: 'The Right of Return versus the Law of Return: Contrasting Historical Narratives in Israeli and Palestinian Textbooks', in: Lesch, Ann M. and Ian S. Lustick (eds): *Exile and Return: Predicaments of Palestinians and Jews*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005: p. 41–56.

⁷² Alayan, Samira: 'The Holocaust in Palestinian Textbooks: Differences and Similarities in Israel and Palestine', in: *Comparative Education Review*, 60 (1), 2015: p. 80–104.

⁷³ Alayan: 'Zionism as the Other in Curricula and Textbooks of the Palestinian National Authority'.

⁷⁴ Alayan, Samira: 'White pages: Israeli censorship of Palestinian textbooks in East Jerusalem', *Social Semiotics* 28 (4), 2018, p. 512–532, DOI: 10.1080/10350330.2017.1339470 and Alayan, Samira: *Education in East Jerusalem. Occupation, Political Power, and Struggle*, London: Routledge, 2019.